Astor

and the

Oregon Country

By

Grace Flandrau

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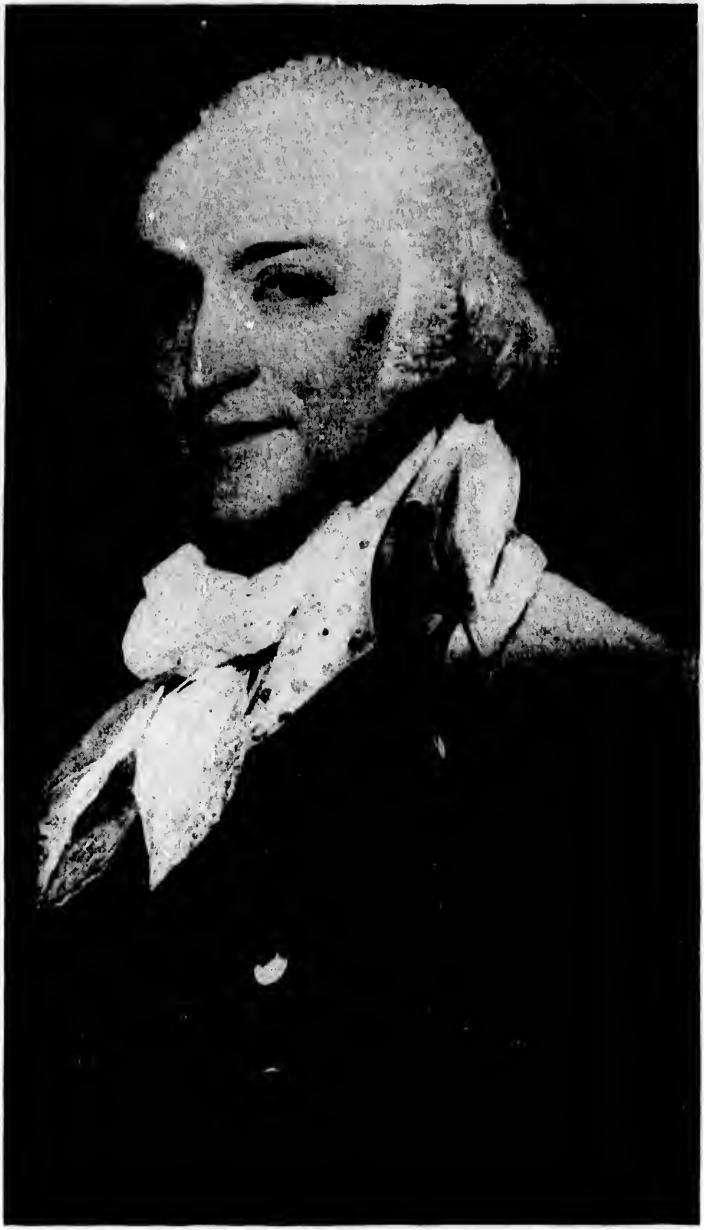
GRACE FLANDRAU

Compliments of the
Great Northern Railway

F5012 .n.d. F584



From portrait in possession of Vincent Astor

John Jacob Astor

Astor and the Oregon Country

"On the waters of the Pacific we can found no claim in right of Louisiana. If we claim that country at all, it must be on Astor's settlement near the mouth of the Columbia."

—THOMAS JEFFERSON.

It is not particularly surprising that, in the financial fairyland of a new world, a capital of seven flutes and twenty-five dollars should have been transmuted into a great fortune; many have been built in America on no capital at all. But this was a fortune with a difference, acquired by no mere turn of spectacular good luck or by shrewd manipulation of non-existing values, but painstakingly, in legitimate trade, and so far reaching in scope and in effect as to give it a quite special significance in American history. And yet luck, both good and bad, being to some extent a partner in all human experiments, is not entirely absent from this one.

When the young German boy John Jacob Astor sailed from London about a century and a half ago with his small stock of musical instruments and his few dollars laboriously saved during two years of hard work in England, his future course of action presented itself in no more definite form than hope and a very fearless and determined ambition; before he left the sailing vessel, ice locked for two months in Chesapeake Bay, it had found the direction he was to follow to supreme success.

The American colonies had just emerged from their desperate revolutionary effort and the treaty of 1783 had solved the more pressing of the moot questions between the new nation and the old.

It was a time for great beginnings. The raw materials of achievement prodigally awaited shaping hands; the little states hugging the Atlantic fringed an unconquered and unmeasured wilderness and doubtless the sense of it there, and of America's destiny toward it, must have broadened the scope and quickened the pulse of every man's desire. But in actual practice the new Americans had not yet had much time to look westward; there was enough to do within the limits of their half-grown commonwealths east of the Alleghanies.

So far the only product of the vast hinterland had been fur, and the habit of two hundred years had formed a deep channel along which this traffic continued almost undisturbed, to flow. The French of the St. Lawrence, the Royal English Company on Hudson's Bay, the Montreal merchants who succeeded to the com-

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merce of New France, had beaten the fur trading trails and monopolized the traffic of practically all of the savage continent.

There was to be sure, some purely American trade in the Atlantic states and such sparse settlements as existed in the remoter territories. In the towns and small communities along the inland waterways men dealt more or less casually in furs; Indians brought in many packs of silky fox and beaver, back woodsmen were glad to trap and sell what skins they had time to gather incidentally to their business of hewing homesteads out of the forest. A good many merchants in New York handled peltries and also went to the leading fur centers in Canada and bought them. But as commerce between her loyal possession and her disloyal late possession was forbidden by England, the furs could not be shipped from Canada to the United States but must be sent directly to England.

Nevertheless even with matters in this state fur trading was profitable in the United States. It was, moreover, a business peculiarly fitted for a man with a small stock of negotiable assets, and a plentiful supply of the impalpable capital of shrewdness, industry, physical vigor and determination, with all of which Astor was particularly well equipped.

By a happy accident one of his shipmates was a fur trader who, during the months of inactivity in Chesapeake Bay, struck up an intimacy with the young emigrant and "sold" him on the profits and advantages of that particular business.

By the time Astor reached New York his money was about gone and his flutes didn't readily sell, but his impalpable assets were unimpaired and were all and more than enough to pave a royal road to fortune.

A Quaker fur trader gave him a job at $2.00 a week and board to beat furs; when he was not beating furs the apprentice was finding out all that Indians, trappers and dealers knew about them and soon he was gathering information at a more valuable source.

With a pack of trinkets on his back he tramped the woodland trails of western and northern New York, visited the camps of the Indians, learned their language, ways and methods of trade and what goods they preferred; learned the wilderness, learned more about furs and much about fur-bearing animals and polished off his course by studying the technique of merchandising fur at its source—among the nabobs of the trade, the great Canadian merchants of Montreal, Michilimackinac and Grand Portage.

The North Westers and the Hudson's Bay people monopolized a modest domain reaching from Labrador and the lower St. Lawrence to the Rocky Mountains, from the Arctic sea to the upper Missouri; while the Mackinaw Company, operating largely in American territory, occupied a very extensive region south of the Great Lakes including Michigan, Wisconsin, parts of Minnesota and extending south along the Mississippi.

Astor, first for his employer, soon for himself, journeyed on foot and by canoe to Canada. He dickered with those magnificent rowdies, the North Westers in Montreal—though it is probable that this thrifty and prudent young merchant did not spend much time revelling with them at the Beaver club, where "Fortitude in Distress" and high living in leisure were the prevailing mottoes. He also traveled westward with the fur brigades up the Ottawa, through Georgian Bay, Lake Huron, the Straits of Mackinac, along the wild north shore of Lake Superior to the inland bazaar of the Scotch merchants at Grand Portage; or paused to trade with the Mackinaw Company at Michilimackinac.

The blythe voyageurs sped with rhythmic paddle the long lake canoes along the waste of waters; toiled under heavy burden over the forest portages; gorged themselves on bear meat and beavers' tails at the evening camps; sent their lilting tender songs afloat on the crystal silence of the brooding primeval world; or deep in sleep, lay wrapped in gaudy blanket by the dying camp fire while the dark forest watched, and the jewel eyes of prowling wild things glared from the encircling shadow; and when the end of the journey was reached misguidedly cast away on brandy and Indian sweethearts the wages of the long trail.

Otherwise engaged was their sober, sturdy passenger who noted so keenly every detail of the country and of the business which, with curious and serene conviction, he proposed to conquer,—sparing particular attention to the Mackinaw posts established south of the border where he believed they had no right to be.

Steadily and rapidly his fortunes advanced; in two years he was in business for himself and had carried a cargo of furs back to London. He made a profitable exchange and returned with well selected Indian trade goods and a cargo of musical instruments. But furs, not flutes, were to be the agent of his destiny and soon the sign above his shop, Furs and Pianos, read merely Furs.

A fast flying decade put him at the head of the business as carried on in the United States; there political conditions affecting the trade had improved. After the Jay treaty it became possible to import furs from Canada to New York; moreover the British were compelled to evacuate their military posts along the American shores of the Great Lakes. This opened the region somewhat to American traders, but the experienced and well organized British merchants were still permitted to retain their fur posts and the Americans could make little headway. Astor's chief business as yet was to buy from the Canadians and ship to London. Before the end of the century his furs were transported in ships owned by him, while already the profits of his almost uniformly successful ventures were buying tract after tract of real estate on the island of Manhattan.

The year 1800 marks the beginning of the second and most important phase of Astor's career. An anecdote is told about his entrance upon the vastly widened theatre of activity, the authenticity of which I cannot vouch for but which is so widely quoted as to seem to merit belief.

It is said that while on a sight seeing visit to East Indian House in London, he recognized in the name of the governor a compatriot with whom he had had some slight acquaintance as a boy in Germany. He sought and gained admission to this official and so won his regard that in parting the governor made him a gift. It consisted of two documents; one was simply a current list of Canton prices, the other an almost priceless parchment authorizing the ship which carried it to trade freely in any Eastern port monopolized by the East India Company.

With this permit Astor is said to have induced an American merchant to outfit a vessel and sail her to Whampoa, the port of Canton, the most profitable fur market in the world; that he received $50,000 as his share of the venture and that with this capital he bought a ship for the China trade and inaugurated the round-the-world commerce he was to carry on with immense profit for twenty-seven years. And rumor has it that luck once more spun the wheel very happily for Astor. The vessel stopped at the Sandwich Islands and took aboard a load of fire wood. This fuel, by sheer accident, happened to be sandal wood and was sold in China for $500 a ton. After this all the Astor vessels which rounded the stormy tip of South America and came to anchor in the blue Hawaiian waters carried from there a cargo of the

precious wood, a trade secret so carefully kept that Astor monopolized this traffic for seventeen years.

At first this round-the-world trade tour took furs from New York to China, thence, with teas, silks and porcelains sailed on around Africa to Europe, made a profitable exchange for English cutlery and other manufactured goods and returned to New York, having pyramided the profits at each point; or reversed the order by sailing first to England. Soon, however, they were to be varied by a most significant detour.

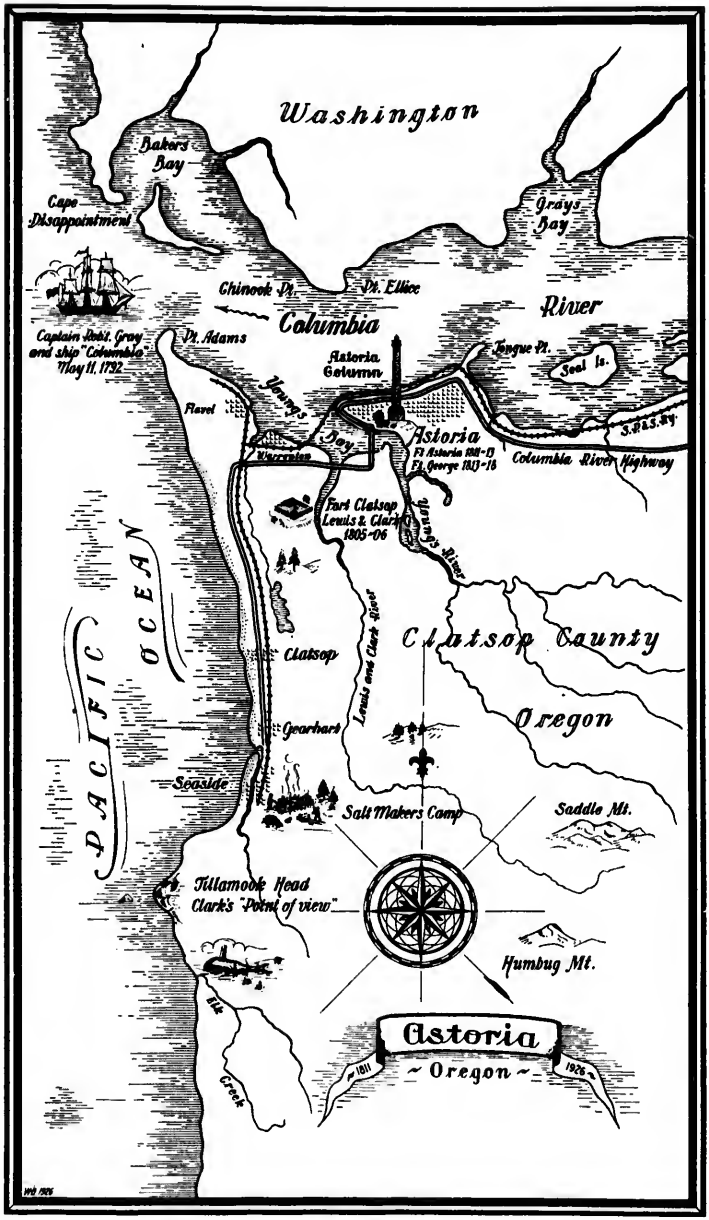
It is evident that a merchant as shrewd, enterprising and long sighted as Astor should not be content forever with buying from others what he could just as well produce himself, and which as an American citizen he felt particularly entitled to do.

He had long had his own agents and trappers gathering fur in the backwoods of New York, Pennsylvania and perhaps Ohio but west from there the Mackinaw Company was firmly intrenched and Astor, well aware of the disastrous cost in money, decency and even life of unbridled competition in the fur country, was disinclined to enter very vigorously into their field—while it was their field. Now he made up his mind that it need not remain theirs.

The American government had long felt the necessity of curbing this foreign traffic among our Indians and were more than ready to co-operate with Astor in his plan to create a strictly American trade within our territorial limits. In April, 1808, Jefferson wrote to Astor:

"I learned with great satisfaction the disposition of our merchants to form in companies for undertaking the Indian trade within our own territory . . . I consider it as highly desirable to have that trade centered in the hands of our own citizens. You may be assured that in order to get the whole of this business passed into the hands of our own citizens and to oust foreign traders who so much abuse their privileges by endeavoring to excite the Indians to war on us, every reasonable patronage and facility in the power of the executive will be afforded."

Astor began by incorporating his wide spread interests in one general organization known as the American Fur Company, chartered in 1808. He then proceeded in connection with the North West Company to buy a two-thirds interest in the Mackinaw Com-


Washington
Baker's Bay
Cape Disappointment
Grays Bay
Chinook Pt.
Pt. Ellice
River
Columbia
Captain Robt. Gray and ship "Columbia" May 11, 1792
Pt. Adams
Astoria Column
Tongue Pt.
Seal Is.
Young's
Flavel
Bay
Astoria
Ft. Astoria 1811-13
Ft. George 1813-16
S.P.&S. Ry.
Columbia River Highway
Fort Clatsop Lewis & Clark 1805-06
Young's River
PACIFIC OCEAN
Clatsop
Lewis and Clark River
Clatsop County
Oregon
Gearhart
Seaside
Salt Makers Camp
Saddle Mt.
Tillamook Head
Clark's "Point of view"
Humbug Mt.
Elk Creek
Astoria
~ Oregon ~
1811
1926

pany with the understanding that within five years all of their business within the United States was to come solely under his control. The organization thus formed was called the South West Company.

But the field which Astor's comprehensive survey included, by no means stopped at the Mississippi. Indeed it may be said only to have well begun there; beyond lay a greater world to conquer.

Astor had seen that immense part of Spanish America known as Louisiana become part of the United States; he had waited with a definite plan forming in his mind for the reports Lewis and Clark would bring back of the unknown country lying along the upper Missouri and across the Rockies to the Pacific. Long before their official statements were available he read Patrick Gass' journal of the expedition which appeared in 1807. It was the following year that the American Fur Company was organized and under its general charter a new enterprise was soon to take form—the Pacific Fur Company.

The magnitude of that conception is perhaps not readily apparent to modern eyes. It is easy to forget how much bigger the world was a hundred and twenty years ago than it is today. Then you did not pack a weekend bag and run over to London in less than a week, or sail from Boston to Shanghai through a Panama canal in six; or span the continent in five days; to say nothing of the fabulous standards now being set by aeroplanes.

In Astor's time, for any one of these excursions you made your will, said good-bye to a family you would not see for months or years or perhaps never—except for the problematic reunion beyond the grave; and with whom for the greater part of your absence, you could not even communicate.

Commercial ventures which circumnavigated the globe were open to enormous hazards; they were out of touch with headquarters for from two to three years, and vessels were almost always at the mercy of nations at war whose costly habit it was to seize any and all shipping that came to hand.

Now in addition to the hazards of sea commerce, Astor was to add other and perhaps greater ones.

With the Louisiana purchase we carried our western border to the Rockies; beyond lay the Oregon Country over which no sovereignty existed; the Russians and Spaniards had vague claims, the Americans and English definite pretensions to ownership. The acknowledged Russian possessions bordered it on the north and

Spanish-owned California on the south. An American had discovered the mouth of its great river, which an American expedition had explored for 400 miles. In all the rest of the Oregon Country, except the Kootenai valley visited by David Thompson in 1808, and in much of Louisiana except that part traversed by Lewis and Clark, no white men had set foot. A virgin world rich beyond all conceiving in fur-bearing animals, big and little, so Gass' journal proved to Astor—in beaver, marten, mink and other small wearers of costly pelts; while legions of buffalo, elk, deer, wild sheep, wolves and bears offered incalculable wealth in robes and hides.

Astor was by this time a rich man. The profits of the China trade and of soaring real estate values provided wealth equal to and superior to that flowing in from the fur business. It is certain that gain was not the only incentive back of the great plan he was now to put into execution and which lay nearer his heart than any he had ever engaged upon.

He believed in America; his whole career was both a result and a proof of that faith; and he desired its aggrandizement. He realized the important part the existence of an American establishment on the Columbia would play in securing that country to us as well as very keenly perceiving its advantage as a commercial base. All his first hand knowledge of the fur trade, and of Indian character and habits, his personal experience in wilderness travel and his knowledge of international maritime commerce, went into the perfection of detail he lavished upon the two-fold project to be carried on by the Pacific Fur Company.

From Franchere's Narrative

Zabriel Franchere

Regular commerce was to be established between the North West coast and the United States; the Oregon Country and the American hinterland west of the Mississippi were to be occupied; trading posts were to be strung along the Missouri and Columbia rivers and their tributaries, a central station to be established at the mouth of the Columbia. This was to be a clearing house for furs, a

receiving station for trade goods and supplies sent by ship around the Horn, and the headquarters for coastwise trade; from it furs were to be shipped direct to China and teas and other articles brought back to the Atlantic seaboard or to England.

The American government gave him enthusiastic moral support; the Russian government, eager to rid Alaskan waters of tramp traders who furnished the savages with fire arms, gave him the exclusive privileges of supplying their American posts. It was a personal venture; the support given by the government was after all moral and nothing else. His commercial operations would begin in New York, penetrate the forest aisles of Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota; the Mississippi and Missouri would be their highways; they would traverse the prairies of the Dakotas and the wide-vistaed uplands of Montana; thread the passes of the Rockies, the rivers of the Pacific watershed, the whispering forests of Oregon. From there, and from Archangel and the islands of Kamschatka sea, his ships loaded with beaver, seal and priceless sea otter would sail on to China, and thence around the world to the ports of England and America.

Such was the bold, canny, calculated and imaginative project which like a pyramid upside down, rested on a vanishing point of seven flutes and a few dollars in the pockets of an immigrant boy.

If good luck had up to this time occasionally aided in a minor way the efforts of this able and determined man, a very fury of bad luck was to assail this particular endeavor, to thwart and foil it at every turn.

The project as planned by Astor was perfectly feasible and had it been executed as it was designed, would unquestionably have succeeded. Even the mischance of the war of 1812 would not irremediably have ruined it.

From Lyman's History of Oregon

Ramsey Crooks

At the time the American Fur Company was organized the North Westers had established certain posts beyond the Rockies above the Oregon Country and were preparing to extend their operations into the regions Astor proposed to occupy. Again desiring to avoid the evils of competition Astor offered them a third interest in his enterprise. Although he would have the advantage of an easier overland way by two great rivers than their own chain of small streams, lakes and portages, their route was well known and much traveled, his was not; although his furs could be shipped directly from the North West coast to Canton while theirs must bear the added cost of the journey eastward by canoe, still they had the advantage of long experience in the West and of an expert personnel; moreover they wanted the whole of the Oregon Country trade, not a third of it, and believing they could reach the mouth of the Columbia and occupy the country first, they refused. They had in their employ the great trader-geographer David Thompson, a man admirably fitted to undertake the job and he was to fail of accomplishing it only by a few weeks.

Astor, realizing the absolute necessity of trained men to lead his enterprise, had turned, imprudently it now seems, to Canada. The first men to be chosen were three former North Westers, Alexander McKay who had accompanied Sir Alexander McKenzie on both his great exploring expeditions, Duncan McDougal and Donald McKenzie, while an American, Wilson Price Hunt of New Jersey was chosen to be Astor's personal representative and chief agent on the Pacific coast.

On July 23, 1810, the articles of agreement between these men acting for themselves and for others who were to become members of the company—David Stuart, Ramsay Crooks, Robert McLelan, Joseph Miller, Robert Stuart, and John Clarke (the two latter names do not appear in the original articles) were signed. Through the courtesy of the Missouri Historical Society these articles of association are herewith published in full for the first time. (Appendix A.)

The initial capital was supplied by Mr. Astor and all expenses for the first five years were to be paid by him up to the amount of four hundred thousand dollars. The stock of the company was to consist of 100 shares, 50 of which were at the disposition

of Mr. Astor, 50 to be divided among the partners and their associates.

The two expeditions were now organized, one to proceed by sea, the other to travel overland by the route of Lewis and Clark. The story of these fateful journeys is too well known to permit of but the briefest summary.

A ship of 290 tons burden called the Tonquin was chartered to carry the supplies and trade goods, and with her sailed McKay, McDougal, David and Robert Stuart, twelve clerks, several artisans and thirteen French-Canadian voyageurs.

The captain was Jonathan Thorn, a naval officer on leave and veteran of the Tripolitan war. He was an upright, honest, loyal and in many ways admirable man with all the infuriating qualities it is possible and even usual for too admirable people to possess. His dour nature, his bossiness, his insistence upon the most extreme details of military discipline which after all he somewhat exceeded his authority in imposing on partners of an enterprise sailing on their own ship, goaded both leaders and subordinates accustomed to the lax good fellowship of the wilderness trail almost to madness. He distrusted and not without reason the character and loyalty of some of these North Westers but he did Mr. Astor no good by persecuting and antagonizing them; while his refusal to take counsel with anyone, his stubborn conceit and self sufficiency which led him to disregard the express and careful orders of his employer, brought about the disastrous end of that melodramatic cruise which forms one of the most curious and tragic chapters of American commerce.

The Tonquin sailed from New York in September, 1810. After a six months' voyage which was a perfect miracle of ill feeling and bitterness, during which time Thorn attempted to abandon a number of the Astorians on a desert island because they failed to return promptly at the call of the whistle, after beating a sailor cruelly and leaving him in Hawaii for a slight infringement of discipline, after conflicts too numerous to mention and, it must be said, at the same time admirably conducting the routine business of the ship, Thorn brought her in sight of the Columbia river March 22, 1811. Here at the dangerous bar which blocked the entrance to the river, his bad judgment and ruthless insistence on having his own way caused the death by drowning of eight of the crew whom he insisted on sending in small boats into the dangerous surge. The Tonquin herself crossed the bar without acci-

Astoria

dent and, safely at the end of her long journey, dropped anchor in Baker's Bay.

Thick forests of tall dark pine crowned the hills, and the shores were bright with flowers and green with new leaved willows. Squat Indians consumately skilful, skimmed the waves in carven fir or cedar wood canoes built with high prow and flaring gunwales. Their costume was a strange medley of savage and so-called civilized garments, red shirts, blue breech cloths, round hats and pea jackets obtained from the trading ships.

After the usual disagreements between captain and partners, Point George on the south bank of the river was chosen as the site of the first American mercantile establishment on the Pacific coast and the construction of Astoria begun.

It was June before the buildings could receive the stores destined for them and then the Tonquin sailed northward on that trading journey up the coast from which she was never to return. The partner, Alexander McKay, and one clerk called Lewis sailed with her, the total number aboard being twenty-three.

Disregarding the advice of the Indian interpreter, Thorn anchored in Nootka harbor on Vancouver Island where the savages were known to be treacherous; disregarding the dictates of common sense and Astor's express commands to treat the Indians with scrupulous courtesy and to admit but a few on board at a time, he lost his temper, grossly insulted several chiefs and the very next day permitted hordes of savages to crowd aboard the vessel.

The result is well known. The Indians at a given signal turned upon the unprepared white men and butchered all but five. The Astorian McKay was the first to fall. The survivors, among them the clerk Lewis, badly wounded, were able to barricade themselves in the cabin and by firing through holes in the door to rid the ship of savages.

In the morning the Tonquin was seen riding quietly at anchor, her decks strewn with the bloody remains of the previous day's holocaust. At last a single white man, variously believed to be the clerk Lewis or a certain Stephen Weekes, appeared and beckoned with friendly signs to the savages intently watching along shore. A few at a time ventured out to the Tonquin; the wounded white man had disappeared. When the ship was crowded with natives happily engaged in plundering the stores, he exploded the powder magazine and blew the Tonquin and all aboard her to atoms.

From Franchere's Narrative

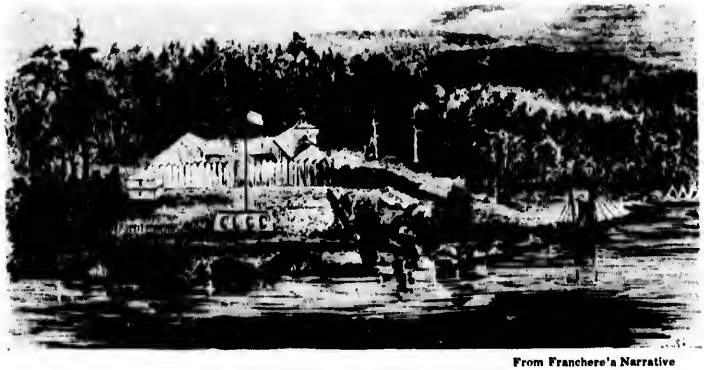
The Tonquin Entering the Columbia River

The four other survivors had escaped from the ship the previous night planning to reach Astoria in a small boat. Head winds had prevented their leaving the bay; they were surprised on shore by the savages and tortured to death. These details were obtained from the Indian interpreter who had accompanied the expedition.

The party at Astoria was unaware of this disaster for some time, but Indians brought other unwelcome news. British trading posts it seemed had already been established on Spokane river and probably elsewhere and they heard, too, that a party of white men was descending the Columbia planting the British flag at forks of rivers.

This the Astorians realized must be a North West Company expedition, sent out to dispute their occupation of the Columbia. They hastened preparations to proceed inland and plant their own flag and establish their own sovereignty, but before the expedition was ready a canoe flying the British standard swept down the river and beached before Astoria. It brought the North West trader, David Thompson, with a party of eight boatmen.

He had crossed the Rockies by the headwaters of the Athabasca, descended Kootenai river to the site of the present city of Bonner's Ferry on the Great Northern Railway where he had already established a trading post—the first commercial station in the entire Oregon Country south of the present international



From Franchere's Narrative

Astoria in 1813

border. Thence he followed an Indian trail to Spokane House and proceeded from there to and down the Columbia, the first white man on that river above the point reached by Lewis and Clark six years before. (This route, which became the great highway of the fur trade into Idaho, Oregon and Washington is followed almost exactly by the route of the Great Northern Railway from Rexford near the Canadian border to Spokane and is followed from Spokane to Portland by the S. P. & S. Railway.) At Astoria David Thompson was far too warmly welcomed, the other partners believed, by the old North Wester McDougal—a cordiality which was the first straw showing the direction of the ill winds soon to blow for Astoria.

That summer David Stuart with a company of clerks, French boatmen and Sandwich Islanders ascended the Columbia to its junction with the Okanogan and there on a lovely prairie carpeted with wild flowers and gay with humming birds, among friendly Indians, the first of the inland posts established by the Astorians was built. (Near present town of Brewster on the Great Northern Railway. The road was built to this place almost exactly 100 years after the Okanogan post was established.)

At Astoria rumors of Indian hostility caused the post to be strongly fortified and a state of military defense maintained. These rumors were made doubly sinister by the news which at last reached the Astorians of the terrible fate of the Tonquin.

As winter approached the Indians retired to the interior; a small schooner, the Dolly, was completed with which to forage along the coast, while a party under Robert Stuart was sent up

the Willamette to hunt and trap in the verdant valley which is now one of the richest and most productive regions of Oregon.

So the winter passed without serious incident and eighteen days after the New Year the first members of the Astorian party sent overland from St. Louis began to appear.

This party was under the leadership of Wilson Price Hunt. Subtly opposed by the North West Co. Westers at Mackinac and by the Missouri Fur Company at St. Louis, it was only with endless delays and difficulties that Hunt had been able to procure a proper and sufficient personnel. His expedition, which stories of Sioux and Blackfoot hostility had caused him to increase from thirty to sixty members, consisted of the partners Hunt, McKenzie, Ramsay Crooks, Robert McLelan and one Joseph Miller who in a strange fit of sulks turned trapper and abandoned the expedition in the mountains; a number of trappers, hunters, voyageurs and the interpreter, Pierre Dorion with his courageous and devoted Indian wife and two small children.

It took the party eleven months to make the journey and they covered 3,500 miles in their wanderings. The adventures experienced, the sufferings and hardships endured make its story one of the fabulous odyssies of our frontier period. (See Appendix F.)

Hunt was a most loyal, devoted, conscientious and even able man but not entirely fitted for the command. His career as personal representative of Astor, was marred by several well meant but serious mistakes. Instead of following the Lewis and Clark route as planned by Astor, he allowed himself to be persuaded that his large, well-armed party could not safely continue up the Missouri through the country of the Blackfeet—which they unquestionably could have done. Instead he ordered the canoes abandoned at the Arikara villages, bought horses from this people and the party proceeded westward from there, by way of the Black Hills and the Bighorn Mountains to the main ridge of the Rockies. There Hunt, refusing to take the advice of trappers who had already crossed the Divide, turned south from a point on Wind river. They managed, however, by hard travel through difficult passes to reach tributaries of Snake or Lewis river—a branch of the Columbia. There their real troubles began.

Rashly they abandoned the horses, and building canoes, embarked on the river which in time became impossible to navigate. Now they must proceed on foot, carrying their indispensable burdens. Winter was coming on; it was a bleak region barren of game, inhabited by a few famished bands of poverty stricken Indians. Snow impeded their progress; for many weary months starvation walked with them; a dog, a skeleton horse bought from the natives, a beaver skin or a few roots kept life in their emaciated bodies; two of the voyageurs were drowned, one having gone insane from hunger. The parties separated; some of the members, unable to proceed, were left behind, among these, Ramsay Crooks with the hunter John Day. Months later these two men reached the Columbia where they were robbed of guns and ammunition and stripped naked by the thieving Falls' Indians.

Pierre Dorion's heroic wife gave birth to a baby during those fearful days in the mountains, but she must march with the men, and, after but one day's respite, uncomplainingly took the trail. In a short time the baby died.

At last the various contingents, some by one route, some by another, reached the Columbia and in February, 1812, most of the party were united at Astoria.

It was decided the following month to send a party back across the continent with dispatches for Mr Astor, and John Reed, who had only just completed the arduous journey, announced himself ready to return. He was to be accompanied by the partner McLelan who was determined to withdraw from the enterprise, and three boatmen. Parties were also to be sent at this time to the Okanogan post and to recover the cache made by Hunt on Snake river.

The combined forces ascended the Columbia without mishap until that part of the Dalles known as the Long Narrows was reached. (Present town of Spearfish on S. P. & S. Railway.) About these narrows and around the Great, now called Celilo, Falls difficult portages must be made. The Indians who lived in the vicinity were a veritable curse to fur traders passing that way for the next twenty years. They harassed, robbed and murdered at every opportunity and this guerilla warfare began with the up-river journey of the Astorians. It resulted in the loss of the dispatch box, the wounding of Reed and the abandonment of the overland journey.

In May, 1812, the Beaver, a ship sent out by Mr. Astor plentifully laden with trade goods and supplies, reached Astoria.

Arrangements were immediately made to establish interior posts on the Spokane and Snake rivers from which smaller parties were to be sent to the Flatheads and Kootenais. A second overland expedition to carry news of his enterprise to Mr. Astor was also arranged. Ramsay Crooks, who had determined to withdraw from the enterprise, and McLelan, who had long wanted to resign, were among the members of the party. (Appendix B). A contemporary story of this journey as it appeared in the Missouri Gazette of May 8, 1813, by courtesy of the Missouri Historical Society appears herewith. (Appendix F.)

Hunt, who it will be remembered was Astor's representative at the North West post, now elected with the best intentions in the world, to sail away on the Beaver, delegating his powers at Astoria to the ex-North Wester, Duncan McDougal. (Appendix C)—a decision which the event has proven a most unfortunate one.

It was his purpose to investigate personally the trade situation at the Russian establishments. He was gone not a few weeks as he had planned, but one entire year, a period when his courage and perfect loyalty to Astor were acutely needed at Astoria. The adventures of the Beaver are a fascinating part of the fabulous scenario of Astoria but may not be dwelt upon here. They were characterized by certain errors of judgment on the part of both Hunt and the ship's master, Captain Sowle, and both failed to obey the exact instructions given by Astor. The expedition resulted in serious loss to the enterprise. In the meantime events at Astoria marched to their unfortunate conclusion.

On a January day in 1813, while McKenzie and John Clarke (a partner who had arrived on the Beaver) were conferring at the latter's post on the Spokane, in walked the North Wester McTavish, recently from Montreal, announcing the unpleasant fact that the United States and Great Britain were at war and that an armed ship, the Isaac Todd, carrying letters of marque, was being sent to Astoria by the North West Company with no very friendly intentions.

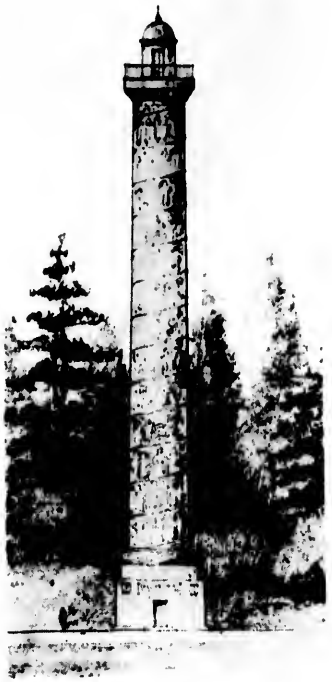
This news was at once conveyed to McDougal who, in the absence of Hunt, was first in command at Astoria and who almost from the beginning had been frankly disloyal to the enterprise. In view of the war, of the expected arrival of the Isaac Todd, of the alarming absence of the Beaver and the alleged unsatisfactory state of the trade, he, encouraged by McKenzie, decided that the Astor enterprise must be abandoned.

Very much against their will the other partners were persuaded of this and that summer when all conferred at Astoria, several manifestos setting forth the reasons for this decision were drawn up. Wilson Price Hunt's letter book containing these documents is in the possession of the Missouri Historical Society and by the kind permission of the society they are herewith reproduced in full for the first time. (Appendix D.)

Only the briefest glance may be given to the intricate events which followed. In August Hunt, returning in a chartered ship from the Sandwich Islands, heard of these transactions with dismay, but seems not to have had the strength of mind or perhaps the power successfully to oppose them. He regretfully concurred and then bustled off to sea again to find a ship in which he might carry off Astorians, Sandwich Islanders, furs and goods before the British should arrive.

Astor meantime had sent out a third supply ship, the Lark, and this was spectacularly wrecked off the Sandwich Islands. After the declaration of war, the blockade of eastern ports by the British, the threatening attitude of the North West Company, he applied to the government to protect his remote colony. The frigate Adams was assigned to this duty but with that curious bad luck which dogged the enterprise, was withdrawn for other service at the last moment.

British men-of-war invaded the Pacific and one of these, the Racoon, hastened northward to capture that rich prize Astoria, which the North Westers had been making such a stir about.



The Astoria Column

Two-fold was the rage of the commander, Captain Black, when on reaching the mouth of the Columbia in November, 1813, he found not a magnificent establishment, but a log trading post surrounded by a wooden stockade which he could "batter down in two hours with a four pounder," and furthermore discovered that it was no longer an American stronghold with presumably rich booty in furs, but the property of the North West Company!

Shortly after Hunt's departure a large brigade of North Westers under McTavish had appeared at Astoria. McTavish produced a letter again announcing the arrival—threatened six months before—of the Isaac Todd, and that this time it would be accompanied by a frigate of war with orders to destroy everything American on the coast. (Appendix E.)

Whereupon McDougal sold Astoria, furs, trade goods and all, to the North Westers for a mere fraction of their value, himself becoming a partner of that company and remaining in command at the post.

Before leaving, Captain Black of the Racoon took formal possession of the fort and of the country in the name of his Britannic Majesty, raised the British flag and changed the name of the establishment to Fort George—a ceremony which was to have a subsequent effect not anticipated by the British.

In December, 1814, the treaty of Ghent was signed closing the War of 1812 and providing "that all territory, places and possessions whatsoever taken by either party from the other during or after the war (except certain islands in the Atlantic) should be restored without delay."

Now it appeared that the grandiloquent performance of Captain Black raised the Astorian episode from a mere commercial transaction between the agents of two fur companies, in which case it would probably have been irrevocable, to an act of war, repealed by the treaty.

Fort George automatically reverted to Astor and owing to his solicitations a man-of-war was sent to the North West coast. There, in August, 1818, Captain Biddle of the U. S. S. Ontario, formally received the establishment from the British. He raised the American flag and asserted our supremacy over the river and surrounding country.

But more than four years had passed since Astoria had been turned over to the Canadian company and the North Westers now had the trade of the entire region firmly in their grasp. Astor well knew what it meant to oppose that ruthless and militant

organization and before re-occupying Astoria he appealed for a small military force to be established there. This request was not granted.* So at last, he definitely abandoned his great project and for over twenty years the entire trade of the Oregon Country was exclusively British.

East of the Rockies, however, Astor's plans, interrupted by the War of 1812, were resumed with vigor and entire success. British traders were excluded from American territory by act of Congress in 1815 and in the vast region of the Great Lakes, Upper Mississippi and Upper Missouri, Astor, until his retirement in 1834, reigned almost supreme.

Although the creating of Astoria resulted in nothing but loss and disappointment to its founder it was a factor of the greatest importance in deciding the destinies of the Oregon Country.

When the joint sovereignty of England and America came to an end in 1846, the fact that the first permanent establishment on the Columbia was American and that our claims to the mouth of the river had been acknowledged by England after the close of the war had a most favorable effect in securing for the United States the boundaries she believed to be rightfully hers.

Events have amply proved the prophetic truth of Jefferson's words written to Astor in 1813 and which form a noble tribute to the founder of Astoria: "I view it [Astoria] as the germ of a great, free, independent empire and that liberty and self-government spreading from that, as well as this side, will insure their complete establishment over the whole. It must be still more gratifying to yourself to foresee that your name will be handed down with that of Columbus and Raleigh as the founder of such an empire."

*See letter from Mr. Gallatin which forms Appendix G.

THE END

APPENDIX

Through the courtesy of the Missouri Historical Society these articles of association and letters of agreement are herewith published for the first time.

APPDENDIX A—

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT made and concluded the twenty-third day of June in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and ten, by and between John Jacob Astor of the city of New York, Merchant of the first part, and Alexander McKay, Donald McKenzie, Duncan McDougall and Wilson P. Hunt, acting for themselves and the several persons who already have agreed to become or shall hereafter become associated with them, under the firm of the Pacific Fur Company of the second part, and also between the said John Jacob Astor, Alexander McKay, Donald McKenzie, Duncan McDougall and Wilson P. Hunt, and all the persons who shall hereafter become associated with them, as hereinafter mentioned, and parties to these Presents, by sealing and delivering the same, each agreeing separately and only for himself, and his Heirs, Executors and administrators as follows to wit.—

Whereas the said parties together with David Stuart, Robert McLelan, Joseph Miller and Ramsay Crooks, have it in contemplation that they, or they and their other associates or some of them shall make a trading Establishment on the North West Coast of America for the purpose of carrying on the fur trade at Columbia River or in its vicinity or in any other place upon the said Coast wher it shall be found practicable and wher it may be conveniently done without violating any of the Laws of the United States—

And the said Party of the first part hath agreed to further aid and be concerned with the said Company in their said undertaking in the manner and subject to the terms and agreements hereinafter specified and contained.— Now therefore it is hereby mutually agreed and concluded by and between the said parties of these presents and they do hereby mutually covenant and agree to and with each other in manner following that is to say.—

Article First. The party of the first part hereby covenants and agrees for himself his Heirs, Executors and Administrators with the said parties of the second part on behalf of themselves and all others who may be associated with them in the said concern or Company, to furnish and supply all the means requisite to make and carry on the said establishment Undertaking and Trade, that is to say all such Ships or Vessels Goods Wares merchandise, Provisions, Arms, Ammunition, Men or hands and all other Articles and things whatsoever that may be needful or requisite for the same, at first costs and charges and no higher rate, attending as much as possible to such advices and orders as the said John Jacob Astor his Heirs Executors or Administrators shall or may from time to time during the continuance of this Agreement receive from the said Company and also shall and will during the same period superintend transact and manage all the Business and affairs of the said concern

or company in the City of New York and wheresoever the same may come under his direction, to the best of his and their skill and knowledge, Provided always that the same articles above enumerated can be had and procured at New York or at any other place or places whatsoever from whence the said party of the first part can or may import the same he being hereby authorized so to do whenever he may deem it for the interest of the concern—and provided also that the said party of the first part his Heirs, Executors or Administrators shall not be obliged at any one time to be in advance for the said company or concern above the Amount of four hundred thousand Dollars money of the United States of America.

Secondly—It is further covenanted and agreed as aforesaid that he the said John Jacob Astor his Heirs Executors and Administrators shall and will from time to time and at all times during the continuance of the said agreement keep just regular and detailed accounts of all his and their purchases advances dealings and transactions for, with or on account of the said company and shall transmit a copy or copies of the same once in every year after this present year if opportunity shall offer, and if no opportunity shall be had within each succeeding year, then as soon as may be thereafter to the said parties of the second part and their associates together with an account Current of each Individual associated in the concern to be by them respectively signed and interchanged, in which accounts the outfit or adventure of each year shall be kept separate, such accounts in every year to commence with the balances of the preceeding years if any such there have been.

Thirdly.—It is further covenanted concluded and agreed by and between all the parties to these presents that the said John Jacob Astor his Heirs, Executors and Administrators shall have full power and authority at his and their discretion to cause insurance to be made and effected with and by any Assurance Company or Companies or Individual underwriters upon all or any of the Ships, Vessels, Goods Wares Merchandise, Provisions, Arms, Ammunition, Articles and things supplied had, procured or purchased as aforesaid to or for the said establishment and Company or Concern and to charge the expenses thereof to the said Company or concern and to hold and apply the policies of assurance that may be so made or efected and the proceeds thereof for the security and towards the repayment of all the advances that shall be so made as aforesaid.

Fourthly.—And further that the said John Jacob Astor his Heirs Executors administrators or assigns shall be allowed and may charge the legal Interest of the State of New York for and upon all sum and sums of money and advances which he or they shall or may in Pursuance of these Presents make to or pay for the said Company or Concern but he or they shall not be allowed claim or be entitled to any commissions or other recompense for or upon the importation, Exportation Shipping reshipping, purchasing, selling or other wise disposing of any Goods, wares Merchandises or any other articles or effects belonging to or being or intended for the said Fur Company Trade or Concern nor for the transaction of any Business whatsoever on their account save and excepting always such Commissions and Charges as he or they shall or may have

been actually and *bona fide* put into or obliged to pay on account of the said Company or Concern.

FIFTHLY.—It is further covenanted concluded and agreed as aforesaid that the stock of the said Company or Concern shall be divided into one hundred equal parts or shares and the profits thereof divided accordingly and that the said party of the first part shall be entitled to Fifty of the said shares and that the remaining fifty shall some of them belong to and be divisible immediately among the said parties of the second part and their Associates and the rest remain for the benefit of the whole concern as hereinafter mentioned that is to say, the said Alexander McKay, Donald McKenzie, Duncan McDougall, David Stuart Wilson Price Hunt and Ramsay Crooks shall each be entitled to and have and hold five of the said shares, the said Robert McLelan and Joseph Miller each two and an half of the said shares and the remaining fifteen shares shall be for the use and benefit of the several parties interested in the said Company or concern in proportion to their interests and shares therein untill such time as the same shall or may be appropriated and otherwise disposed of as hereinafter is provided for.

SIXTHLY.—It is further covenanted concluded and agreed as aforesaid that in case any of the said Associates shall decline or neglect to become parties to these Presents and to be interested in the said Establishment or concern as aforesaid reasonable time for that purpose being given then and in every such case the shares intended for the said persons respectively shall be and remain vested in the said Company or Concern in like manner as the fifteen Shares of Stock herein before particularly mentioned and further that the said party of the first part shall have the right and privilege to nominate and introduce into the said Company or Concern four Persons such as he may deem worthy to become partners therein that is to say he may send out two such persons in the Vessel that shall or may carry out the supplies for the said Company for the year one thousand eight hundred en eleven, and the remaining two in the Vessel that shall or may carry out such supplies in or for the year Eighteen hundred and twelve, but nevertheless none of the said persons shall be entitled to more than three of the said Shares and two at least of the said persons shall be men acquainted with and conversant in the Indian trade and the said persons shall respectively be deemed to have become interested in the said Concern or Company from the commencement thereof and shall be equally liable and responsible and entitled to the same privileges in every respect as the said parties of the second unless it may otherwise be specially provided for by these presents.

SEVENTHLY.—It is further covenanted concluded and agreed as aforesaid by and between all the parties to these Presents that for the better management of the business and affairs of the said Company there shall be held annually at some stated period to be hereafter ascertained and at such place or places as may be agreed on a general meeting of the said Company at which all the persons interested therein may be present either in person or by proxy or attorney and all of the parties of the second part and their associates shall attend personally unless absent on Business or by permission of the Company and it shall be the duty of each Partner to make known at such meeting whatever information or

intelligence he may possess relative to the Interests of the Concern and such meetings shall have power to adopt such measures and make such Provisions and regulations in manner hereinafter provided for, for the better carrying on the Business of the concern as shall be deemed advisable which regulations shall be binding upon all the members of the Company provided always and it is further agreed as foresaid that no person shall be entitled to act as an attorney or proxy at any such meeting unless he shall hold in his own right one or more shares or be connected with the said party of the first part in the said concern, nor shall one person be allowed to vote as proxy or Attorney or by virtue of his said connection as aforesaid for more than one third of the whole number of shares in the said Concern, but any person holding or entitled to more than one third of the said shares may nevertheless appoint different Attornies or proxies to represent such shares and vote thereupon.

EIGHTLY.—It is further covenanted concluded and agreed by and between all the Parties to these presents that all questions which may arise as to the appointing of an Agent or Agents or relative in any way to the agents of the said Company, concerning the building or employment of Vessels of above Sixty Tons burthen the making or changing the chief Establishment or place of Depot of the Company the Importation, Exportation Shipping and reshipping of all Goods, Wares Merchandise Commodoties or Productions of the Country to or from foreign Countries or places all expeditions by Sea except the coasting of Vessels from one post to another post of this concern—concerning the disposition of the stock of the Concern in case of a dissolution of the Company or Concern, the making out Orders for Goods—the admitting Partners into the concern the valuation of Vessels, Boats, Establishments, Arms and other articles in the use or occupation of the Company or Concern, and the sending of any Partners to any place other than the Northwest Coast of America and its dependencies shall be decided in such general meeting as aforesaid and on all such questions a vote shall be allowed for each share, but three fourths of the whole number of votes shall be necessary to form a decision and should any of the shares held by others except the said party of the first part or his representatives be unrepresented at any such meeting a deduction of a like number of votes shall be made from those to which the said party of the first part or his representatives would otherwise be entitled to—and in like manner if any of the shares held by the said party of the first part shall be unrepresented at any such meeting the said other parties to these presents and associates shall make a similar deduction from the Votes they, would otherwise be entitled to give, Provided always and it is hereby further agreed as aforesaid that no person except those already named and provided for can or shall be admitted as a Partner to have a greater interest or concern than three shares in the said Company nor to any share therein untill he shall been in the actual service of the Company for the space of five years.

NINTHLY. It is further covenanted and agreed by and between all the parties to these presents that all questions which may arise relative to the conducting the Indian trade on the North west coast of America and its dependencies (save and except such questions as are otherwise provided for in the last mentioned article shall be decided by the parties

of the second part and such others as may hereafter become associated with them and shall reside on the said Coast and dependencies allowing to each such Partner a vote without respect to the number of shares he may hold, but it shall require two thirds of such Partners present or represented to form a majority on such questions.

TENTHLY.—It is further covenanted concluded and agreed by and between all the parties to these presents that the said Company or Concern shall continue and be carried on for the space and term of twenty years from the date of these Presents unless sooner dissolved in some or one of the modes hereinafter mentioned.

ELEVENTHLY. The said party of the first part doth hereby covenant and agree with the said Parties of the second part and also with them and such other Persons as shall or may hereafter become Parties to or in this agreement or Concern that he the said Party of the first part His Heirs Executors and Administrators shall and will bear and sustain all the loss that shall or may be incurred by the said Company during the first five years of the said term taken collectively if the same shall so long continue in consideration of his being to share of the profits thereof if any in the shares or proportion herein before mentioned and in order to ascertain such loss (if any shall be incurred) an Inventory & valuation shall be made at the end of the said five years of all the Goods Wares and Merchandise of the said Company then on hand on the North West Coast of America at their first cost and charges adding Interest unless previously charged to the concern and adding to all such articles as may have been imported from the United States or elsewhere the further sum of ten per cent thereon provided always that the amount shall not exceed one hundred thousand Dollars unless Goods to a greater amount shall have been ordered by the parties of the second part, and also an Inventory and Valuation shall be made of all articles in use by the said Company or Concern including Houses Stores and Improvements and all other effects such Inventories to be approved of and fixed by a Majority of at least three fourths of the Company allowing one Vote for each share and a fair valuation and Inventory shall also be made by three disinterested and proper persons of all Goods and effects of the Company or Concern then on hand at New York or elsewhere but no addition or allowance of ten per Cent is to be made except in the case above particularly provided for, and such Inventories and Valuations shall be conclusive and binding for the purpose aforesaid but not for any other purpose, nor shall this mode of proceeding form a Precedent upon any other occasion.

TWELFTHLY. It is hereby further covenanted concluded and agreed by and between all the parties to these Presents each covenanting for himself only that they the said parties of the second part and such Persons as may hereafter become Parties to these Presents shall and will respectively to the outmost of their skill and abilities promote the interest of the said Company and faithfully execute all such duties as may be assigned to him by a majority of the Parties residing and being engaged in the business of the Company on the said North West Coast and its dependencies and shall for that purpose repair to such Place or Places on the said North West Coast and its dependencies as the said majority shall appoint.

Thirteenthly.—It is further covenanted concluded and agreed as aforesaid that each of the parties who shall reside in the Indian Countries for the transaction of the Companies Business shall be allowed by the concern One hundred Dollars a year for wearing apparel to be purchased at New York and sent out and delivered to him free of charges and also that each of the parties in the said Company residing on the North West Coast of America or its dependencies shall be enti.led to take and receive annually from the stores of the Company Goods to the Value of One hundred Dollars to be charged to him at twenty p. Cent advance on the cost and charges.

Fourteenthly.—It is further covenanted and agreed as aforesaid that each of the said parties shall keep and render to the other in such general meeting as aforesaid when thereunto requested or at stated periods to be hereafter fixed at a general meeting true and faithful accounts of all the goods and effects of the said Company received or disposed of by them or under their direction so far as may be in their power and shall also render an account or Inventory of all the Company's property in their respective Departments or Possession and shall oblige all those under their direction to do the same.

Fifteenthly.—It is further covenanted and agreed by and between all the Parties to these Presents that none of the said parties to these Presents shall be in any wise engaged or concerned on his or their own account in the Indian trade on the North West Coast of America or otherwise to the detriment of the Concern during the time he or they may have or hold any Interest or share in said Company or Concern nor in Shipping Beaver skins to China unless on account of the said Company after the said Company shall be in a situation and able to ship annually Six thousand Beaver skins from the North West Coast and its dependencies, but nevertheless the said John Jacob Astor is authorized and shall have power to ship Beaver skins or any other Furs to China on account of the said Co. when he may deem it for their interest—This is nevertheless to be deemed a mere personal trust and not to extend to his representatives or any person who may come into the Company in his stead.

Sixteenthly.—It is further covenanted concluded and agreed by and between all the parties to these Presents that the said parties shall have full power to abandon the said undertaking and to dissolve the said company if they shall find within the term of five years above mentioned that the same is unprofitable.

Seventeenthly.—It is further covenanted concluded and agreed as aforesaid that the said parties of the second part and the said David Stuart shall each of them have liberty to retire from the duties of the concern at any time after the expiration of five years, and the said Robert McLelan, Joseph Miller and Ramsay Crooks shall each have the like liberty at any time after the expiration of seven years from the date of these presents but no other persons who may become partners in the said Company before the year Eighteen hundred and fifteen shall be at liberty so to retire untill they shall have been engaged seven years as Partners in the Indian Country, Provided always and it is further covenanted that no person that is or may become a partner in the Concern shall retire from the country where the chief Establishment is made or from the duties

to be by him performed unless he shall give at least one year's notice of his intention to the Company at such chief Establishment.

EIGHTEENTHLY.—And it is further covenanted and agreed by and between all the said parties that each of the partners retiring from the Company and his Executors, Administrators and Assigns shall be entitled to receive from it and the Company shall account to him for his just proportion of the Goods, Vessels, Buildings and effects of the said Company conformably to the price or value affixed to the same by the concern in the Inventories of the preceeding year the same to be paid within one year from the time of his so retiring and also that he his Executors Administrators or assigns shall be entitled to one half of his interest or share in the said Company for seven years from the time of his retiring, but neither he nor his Executors Administrators or Assigns shall be entitled to any voice or vote in the said Company on account of the said shares and each Partner so retiring may nominate a deserving Clerk of the Company to succeed him provided he is approved of by a majority of the concern in the manner provided for the admission of other members.

NINETEENTHLY.—It is further covenanted and agreed as aforesaid that an Inventory and valuation of the Company's property shall be made annually and in so doing all Goods Wares Merchandise and effects in cases not otherwise provided for shall be valued in such manner as shall be fixed and agreed upon in a general meeting of the Company.

TWENTEENTHLY.—It is further covenanted concluded and agreed upon by and between all the parties to these presents that should any of the parties to these presents or any other who may hereafter become associated with them other than the said John Jacob Astor his Heirs or Assigns shall refuse to comply with any of the Articles of this Agreement to the injury of the said Company or concern or shall conduct themselves in any manner intentionally injurious to the Interests of the Concern or render themselves incapable of their duty unless in case of sickness or any other reasonable cause, then and in such case they shall forfeit half of their respective Interests or shares in this Concern for the benefit of the Company at large and shall be obliged to retire and allowed to retain the other half of his or their respective Interest or shares during the term or space of seven years from the time of so retiring provided always he shall have been a Partner of this Concern five years, but it shall require at least three fourths of all the Parties of the second part residing and being engaged in the Business of this Concern on the North West Coast and its dependencies to decide on such question or make such decision. It is understood if he be expelled before he shall have been a Partner five years he shall be entitled to his half shares for as many years as he may have been a partner.

TWENTY FIRSTLY.—It is further covenanted concluded and agreed by and between all the parties to these Presents that for the better conducting of the Business of the said Company there shall be an agent appointed from among the parties of the second Part of their associates to continue in office for the term of five years unless he shall previously resign or be changed and such agent shall reside at the chief Establishment of the Company on the said North West Coast and shall keep true and faithful accounts of all Goods and Effects received at the place of

Depot and of all Imports and Exports and all Outfits and Disbursemen's made on account of the Company and generally transact all the Busines. of the Concern at the said chief Establishment and he shall annually transmit to the said party of the first Part copies of all the said Accounts with Inventories of all Goods, Wares & Merchandise Property and effects belonging to the said Concern, and should the Interests of the said concern require that such Agent should be absent from the said Chief Establishment and go on any expedition relating to the Business of the Concern it shall be his duty to do so, provided there shall have been a resolve to this effect passed in a general meeting of the Company and a Person appointed to take his place during his absence and it is hereby agreed that Wilson Price Hunt shall be the first Agent and should the Agency become Vacant at any time or times from Death or any cause another Agent shall be elected from among the Parties of the second part or such Persons as shall hereafter become members of the Company at a general meeting but three fourths of the whole number of Votes allowing one to each share shall be necessary to form a choice.—It is also agreed that the Agent may be changed at any such general meeting should the interest of the Concern require it and by the like number of Votes, but no Agent shall retire from the duties of his station or resign the same unless he shall have given one year's notice to the general meeting of his intention so to do.

Twenty Secondly.—It is further covenanted concluded and agreed by and between all the parties to these Presents that all Furs Goods Commodities and Productions of the Country that shall be received or taken in barter or otherwise in the course of the said Companies Business upon the said North West Coast or its dependencies shall be shipped by the Parties of the second part or the said Agent and consigned agreeable to the orders of the said party of the first part to be sold and disposed of by him or his Agents and the proceeds invested as he or they may deem best to the interest of the said Concern.

Twenty Thirdly.—It is further covenanted concluded and agreed as aforesaid that the said parties of the second part and those who shall be hereafter admitted into the said Company shall respectively be allowed legal interest on all sums of money arising from the profits of their respective shares in the said Company—And further that the several hereto shall not be held or made responsible for each other individualy nor for the Acts of each other but for his own Acts only nor shall any one of the concern have authority to sign contracts for any other, or for the Company without a special authority for that purpose.

Twenty Fourthly.—It is hereby further covenanted concluded and agreed by and between all the said parties that after the expiration of five years one or more but not to exceed three of the parties of the second part and those who may become associated with them residing and being engaged in the Business of the Company or Concern on the said North West Coast of American and its dependencies shall be allowed to absent himself or themselves from the duties of this Concern in such manner and agreeably to such Rotation as may hereafter be agreed upon by a Majority of two thirds of such Partners being and residing as aforesaid on the said Coast those Persons who now are parties to these Presents

and who may accede to the same having a preference according to their precedency in this Agreement and therefore being to be considered first in Rotation, but in case any difficulty should arise among the said persons first in Rotation the same shall be decided by Ballot—But in all cases where any of the parties aforesaid shall or may be absent on his or their Rotation or otherwise it is on the express condition that he or they shall return to the duties of this concern within a given time which may be agreed upon hereafter when the parties are better enabled to judge upon the subject.

Twenty Fifthly. It is further covenanted concluded and agreed as aforesaid that the Executors, Administrators and Assigns of those Persons who are named as parties hereto, or as intended to become so, or so many of them as may accede to these Presents (of the second part) shall be and they are hereby entitled in case of death before the expiration of four years from the date hereof to enjoy every privilege and right of Shares or Interest in the Concern that such persons so dying would have been entitled to if living and allowed to retire from the Concern but should they die before the expiration of four years from the date of these presents they shall in like manner be allowed half their respective Interest during as many years as they may have been Partners in this Concern.

Twenty Sixthly.—It is further agreed as aforesaid that the said party of the first part personally but not his representatives or assigns shall hereby have full authority to make any arrangements with the North West Company or any other Person or Persons for the Interest of the concern or in any way lawfully to extend the business thereof in relation to the Indian trade provided that there shall be no private nor separate Interest of his own obtained or secured thereby.

Twenty Seventhly.—It is further covenanted concluded and agreed by and between all the parties to these Presents that in case of the Death of the said party of the first part before the said Company shall have existed seven years his Heirs Executors Administrators or Assigns shall be and they are hereby obliged to carry on the Business of the said Concern for the term of seven years from the date of these presents to the extent herein before limited and upon the terms and in the manner herein provided for and they shall have the right and privilege to continue the said Business during the full term to which this Agreement extends in like manner and upon the same terms and conditions as the said party of the first part might have done if living provided they shall think proper so to do—and it is further agreed and understood by and between the said parties that in the event of the Death of the said party of the first part, his Heirs, Executors or Administrators shall cause information thereof to be given as soon as may be to the said parties of the second part and their Associates who shall within one year after receiving such information or sooner if possible appoint one of themselves as their agent with full power to negociate with the said Heirs Executors and Administrators and any other person or persons for a continuance of the Business of the Concern and the said Agent shall repair to New York with all possible dispatch and should he form or effect a new arrangement or continuance of the said Concern shall remain there during the pleasure of the said parties of the Second part and their Associates to transact

the Business of the said Company in conjunction with an Agent or Agents not more than two to be appointed by the said Heirs Executors Administrators or Assigns.

Twenty Seventhly. It is further covenanted concluded and agreed by and between all the parties to these presents that should the said Heirs Executors or Administrators of the said party of the first part wish to withdraw from the said concern at or after the expiration of the said seven years they shall be at liberty so to do and may either sell their interest in said Company or dissolve the same and in case of such sale the Purchaser or Purchasers shall be and become partners in the said Company and if such sale shall be made the said Heirs Executors and Administrators shall give the said parties of the second part and their Associates the Refusal or offer of Purchasing fifteen of the said shares in the said Company upon the same terms on which they may sell the residue of their shares therein and in case they shall choose to dissolve the Compy. then they shall give notice thereof to the said parties of this Agreement and shall be at liberty and have power to send an Agent out to the said North West Coast and its dependencies to attend to their interests in disposing of the property and winding up the Business of the Concern and two full years shall be allowed after the said notice has been received for bringing to a close the Business and affairs of the said Concern.

Twenty Eightly.—It is further covenanted concluded and agreed by and between all the parties to these Presents that if the Company which is incorporated by a law of the State of New York by the name and stile of the American Fur Company shall go into operation and be duly organized it shall and may be lawful for the said party of the first part to assign and make over his shares and Interest in the said Concern to the said Corporation and thereupon and upon the said corporation's stipulating to keep and perform all the Covenants and agreements contained in these presents which upon the part of the said party of the first part are or ought to be kept done and performed then and in such case only he his Heirs Executors and Administrators shall be discharged and released from any personal concern in the Company hereby formed and from all the covenants and agreements herein contained—Provided always that the said corporation shall have the means of performing the said agreement and shall possess within five years from the date hereof a capital of not less than five hundred thousand Dollars and provided also that the said party of the first part shall have the chief direction of the said Corporation or shall be impowered by it to transact the Business as its Agent for and in the said Concern according to the several covenants and agreements which the said corporation is in case of such assignment to stipulate to perform.

Twenty Ninthly.—It is understood and agreed by and between all the said parties that after the expiration of five years from the date hereof the losses if any, of the said Company are to be borne by the parties their representatives or assigns in proportion to their respective shares and the profits thereof are to be divided in like manner.

Thirtiethly.—It is further covenanted concluded and agreed by and between all the said parties that in all cases where any difficulty contention

or difference may arise between the parties to these presents or any of them respecting any of the covenants or agreements aforesaid or any mattters relating to their said Concern the same shall be left to the decision of three disinterested and proper persons one to be chosen by each of the parties and the third by the two and such arbitrations shall take place in the City of New York by which decision the said parties will respectively abide.

And for the faithful performance of all and singular the said covenants and agreements to be by them respectively kept and performed all and every of the parties to these presents bind themselves separate and respectively but not jointly or one for the other and their several Heirs Executors and Administrators to the others firmly by these presents.

In witness whereof the parties to these presents have hereunto set their hands and seals the day and year first above written.

Sealed and delivered in the presence of
By J. J. Astor and D. McDougall
(Sigd.) BEV. ROBINSON.
By D. McKenzie W. P. Hunt and R. McClelan
(Sigd.) JAMES AIRD
By D. Stuart
(Sigd.) JOHN REED
By Jos. Miller and Ramy Crooks
(Sigd.) JAMES AIRD

(Signed) JOHN JACOB ASTOR
(Sigd) DONALD McKENZIE
" DUN: McDOUGALL
(Sigd.) WILSON P. HUNT
DAVID STUART
ROBT McCLELAN
JOS. MILLER
RAMY CROOKS.

APPDENDIX B—

I Robert McClelan do hereby relinquish all right title and claim to all the shares or interest in the Pacific Fur Company towit—two and an half shares—and do also relinquish all profit emolument or privileges arising from my having been a partner thereof.

Witness my hand and seal this first day of March in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twelve.

In presence of
(sigd) JOHN REED.

(Signed) ROBT. McCLELAN

I, John Clarke do hereby agree to become a party to the within agreement as one of the partners of the Company within described and will faithfully perform all the Covenants and agreements in the same contained in like manner as I should be bound to do if I had been named therein as a Party of the second part and had actually executed the same.—It being understood that I shall be entitled to and have and hold three of the said shares as herein before provided for. Witness my hand and seal this fourteenth day of May, in the year of our Lord One thousand eight hundred and twelve 1812.

In presence of
John Reed.

(Signd.) JOHN CLARKE

I Ramsay Crocks do relinquich all right title and claim to all the shares or interest I hold in the Pacific Fur Company to wit—Five shares and do also relinquish all profits and emoluments or privileges arising from my having been a Partner thereof—and I do also hereby bind and oblige myself that I will not in any wise be engaged or concerned in the Indian trade or in any Business whatever which may affect the interest or in any wise become prejudicial to the said Concern during the term which the within agreement specifies.—Witness my hand and seal this fourteenth day of May in the year of our Lord One thousand eight hundred and twelve 1812.

(Sigd.) RAMY CROOKS.

Sealed and delivered
in the presence of
Sigd JOHN REED.

This is to certify that Robert Stuart is to have the profits and privileges of two of the five Shares in the Concern of the Pacific Fur Company which are held by David Stuart his uncle, provided always that he performed the duty of a Partner of the said Company, as was originally understood.

ALEX. McKAY

New York 5th September 1810.

Signed
DUN: McDOUGALL
J. J. ASTOR
WILSON P. HUNT
at Astoria March 1st, 1812
DONALD McKENZIE
DAVID STUART.

Resolved that Robert McClelan having expressed his intention of withdrawing from the concern should he not have an augmentation of shares he be permitted so to wtihdraw and that he be no longer considered a partner of the Pacific Fur Company, nor in any way entitled to any right, privilege or emolument arising from his having been a Partner.

Astoria March 1, 1812.
WILSON P. HUNT
DONALD MacKENZIE
DUN: McDOUGALL
ROBERT STUART.

Signed May 12, 1812 DAVID STUART
JOHN CLARKE.

Resolved that Ramsay Crooks having expressed his intention of withdrawing from the Concern, be permitted so to do, and that he be no longer considered a partner of the Pacific Fur Company, nor in any way entitled to any right, privilege or emolument arising from his having been a Partner thereof.

May 14, 1812.

WILSON P. HUNT
DONALD MacKENZIE
DUN: McDOUGALL
DAVID STUART
ROBERT STUART
JOHN CLARKE.

Resolved that Joseph Miller having been permitted to retire from the concern on the 9th day of October last, be considered from that date to have no interest whatever in the Pacific Fur Company, and that he is no longer entitled to any right, privilege, or emolument arising from his having been a Partner thereof.

Astoria, Mouth of Columbia River
June 29, 1812.

Mr. Ramsay Crooks
Sir

Your having been allowed to withdraw as a Partner from the Pacific Fur Company and relinquished all right title or claim to your Shares or Interest in a certain Instrument of Writing executed the fourteenth day day of May last We do hereby exempt you from any losses, charges or responsibility which might arise in consequence of your having been a Partner.

Provided however that you act in strict conformity to said Instrument of writing executed the said 14th May last.

Signed WILSON P. HUNT
D. McKENZIE
D. McDOUGALL
DAVID STUART
R. STUART
J. CLARKE.

APPENDIX C —

Resolved that Wilson P. Hunt is authorized and hereby instructed to accompany Cap. Soule in the Ship Beaver during the Coasting voyage of said Ship for the present season, for the purpose of transacting any business which may be in his power relative to the interest of the Concern—And that Duncan McDougall is hereby instructed to remain at

Astoria and transact the business of the company until the return of W. P. Hunt.

June 27, 1812.
WILSON P. HUNT
D. McKENZIE
DUN: McDOUGALL,
DAVID STUART,
ROBERT STUART
JOHN CLARKE.

Resolved, that it being necessary to send an Express to New York, and all the papers and other things being prepared Mr. Robert Stuart is hereby instructed to have and to take charge of them, with which he is to go as directly to New York as circumstances will admit—and there to be governed by the directions of Mr. Astor as to the time of his returning to the N. W. Coast. It is also resolved that John Day, Benjamin Jones, Francis LeClerc, Andre Valle accompany Mr. Stuart as far as St. Louis where he is to pay them the balances due each by means of Drafts drawn by our W. P. Hunt on John Jacob Astor on account of the Pacific Fur Company.

June 27 1812.
WILSON P. HUNT
D. McKENZIE
DUN: McDOUGALL
DAVID STUART
ROBERT STUART
JOHN CLARKE

APPENDIX D—

As the quantity of goods now on hand are unequal to our wants; disassorted and unfit for the Trade of the Country, much less for competition, it is hereby unanimously resolved as our only alternative in the present necessities of our situation, that we make proposals to our opponents to divide the Trade for the ensuing winter, to wit. That we will give them up to the Post of Spokan House and the establishment of the Coutenais, and also supply them with these few articles of goods for which they have already made application; payable next spring in Horses or in any other manner which may best suit us at that period, all upon condition that they on their part will abandon to us all the remaining parts of the Columbia and forward our dispatches to Mr. Astor by their usual winter express; since it is beyond our power to fit out an express ourselves.

Astoria Columbia River 25th June 1813
DUN: McDOUGALL
DONALD MacKENZIE
DAVID STUART
JOHN CLARKE.

Astoria Columbia River 26 June 1813.

It is hereby resolved and agreed that Mr. David Stuart shall go and winter as usual in the North West parts of the Columbia with a party

of twenty men where he shall trade as much good Beaver, and also Horses as he can procure with the goods he has.

It is further resolved and agreed that Mr. Jn. Clarke shall go and winter in the Flat Head country with a party of twenty men where he shall trade as many furs in season, Horses and Provisions as the goods he has will purchase.

It is also resolved and agreed that a small party consisting of Mr. Jn°. Reid four canadians and two Beaver Hunters shall go and winter in the Snake country in order to meet with those Hunters already in that quarter; to trade all the good Beaver and Provisions the goods they take along with them can procure, and also gather as many as possible of the Company's Horses that have been in possession of the Indians since these two years.

It is likewise resolved and agreed upon thay Mr. Duncan McDougall shall continue at this place as usual with a party consisting of Forty strong to guard it against the natives of whom we have reason to suspect ill designs should no reinforcements arrive.—

To secure this place on which is our chief dependence, too much precaution cannot be taken. And as there is no stock of provisions for its support Mr. Donald McKenzie shall go and winter in the Wallamet or thereabouts with four hunters and eight men and pay every attention to procure a constant supply of that indispensable article.

And whereas the concern have more Clerks than is requisite in any proportion to the number of common men in the service. It is hereby agreed and resolved upon that if it meets their own approbation their engagements shall be delivered up to Donald McLennan, Donlad McGillis and Ross Cox with full permission to engage elsewhere provided they give their notes for any balance they may owe to the concern.

DUN: McDOUGALL
DONALD MacKENZIE
DAVID STUART
JOHN CLARKE.

Astoria Columbia River 1st July, 1813.

The period is now at hand when we must repair to our respective wintering grounds, but before our departure it is a duty incumbent upon us not only in justice to the concern but to the Party in general that decisive measures be entered upon respecting the alarming state of our affairs.

The Ship Beaver was to have returned at the end of two months. Eleven months are now elapsed since she set sail. We have no tidings of her since, and we have every reason to conclude that she must have either perished or taken her final departure from the coast. Another vessel was to have sailed about the usual time for our support, but after every due allowance, we need no longer expect her. We are now destitute of the necessary supplies to carry on the Trade, and we have no hopes of receiving more. We are yet entirely ignorant of the coast, on which we always had great dependence. The interior parts of the country turn out far short of our expectations. Its yearly produce in furs is very far from being equal to the expenses the trade incurs; much less will

it be able to recover the losses already sustained, or stand against a powerful opposition and support itself. In find, circumstances are against us on every hand; and nothing operates to lead us into a conclusion, that we can succeed.

And whereas by the sixteenth article of the Company's agreement, bearing date the Twenty third day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and ten, we are authorized to abandon this undertaking, and dissolve the concern, if, before the period of five years, the same should be unprofitable.

Now, a Resolve is hereby unanimously agreed upon, passed and concluded, that unless the necessary support and supplies arrive with advice from John Jacob Astor of New York, or the stockholders to continue the trade, the same shall be abandoned as impracticable, as well as unprofitable.

And we hereby resolve and conclude, that we take our departure from the Forks of the Columbia the first day of June next year; and that every preparation shall be made previous to that period, to the end, that we transport our Furs and conduct our party in safety to the Territory of Louisiana.

DUN: McDOUGALL
DONALD MACKENZIE
DAVID STUART
JOHN CLARKE.

Augt. 25, 1813.

Whereas by a certain resolve passed on the first day of July last by D. McDougall, D. McKenzie D. Stuart and J. Clarke partners of the Pacific Fur Co. it was agreed & concluded to abandon the country of Columbia river & to conduct the party of clerks & men under their charge to Louisiana & to dissolve the said concern.

And whereas on the 20th of this present month W. P. Hunt arrived in the Ship Albetross chartered at the Sandwich Islands to land him & some provisions at this place & as the quantity is not sufficient, together with the information obtained by W. P. Hunt during his absence relative to the bad state of the trade on the N. West Coast not favourable & having no reason at this time to think in any wise more favourably of the trade of the interior, we cannot avoid the strong impression we are under in justice to Mr. Astor and to ourselves of the necessity to take the best and most sure measures to get our people home (or discharged) and to convey our skins to market that there may be as little loss in our unfortunate undertaking as possible. We therefore unanimously agree that W. P. Hunt again depart from this place in the Ship now here (for fear we may not have another opportunity) and proceed to see Captains Davies & Winship who are expected about this time in California, and to go either with them or any other opportunity to the Sandwich Islands for the purpose of chartering or of procuring in any other way in his power (should none come addressed to us) a vessel to come here and relieve us by taking up our skins and other property some of our people and the natives of the Sandwich Islands in our employ being about 25 in numbers. That said W. P. Hunt procure during his absence a quan-

tity of provisions in proportion to our wants & his means of getting them. That he take his departure from the Sandwich Islands for his return if possible on or before the first of January next but in all cases to be guided by circumstances and act at his discretion to the end that he fulfill his mission.

Having already experienced so many unforeseen disaster in the prosecution of our plans and Human life being so uncertain, it is hereby agreed and concluded that W. P. Hunt draw three setts of exchange on John Jacob Astor Esq of New York to the amount of twenty thousand dollars to be left with D. MacDougall in case of being disappointed in said Hunt's return, to meet the demands of our people at St. Louis or elsewhere.—It is further agreed & concluded that D. McKenzie proceed as soon as may be safe to divide the party, up the Columbia to see Messrs Stuart & Clarke or send expresses to inform them of the change of measures & to bring down a part or all the furs we may have in the upper country by the fifteenth day of February & all the natives of the Sandwich Islands. And that he proceed to see Mr. McTavish or any other person in charge of the North West Co's posts on the Columbia & its dependencies for the purpose of knowing what arrangements we can make with him to take a part and what part of our men with him into their employ. That he inform himself in what way we can pay over the balance of wages due the men which the said Mr. McTavish may employ & what goods and how many he will take in payment. The prices he would allow for Beaver and for goods and in fine to make a conditional arrangement to deliver the men and property at any given place. though by no means to bind ourselves (because we have no doubt we shall have a vessel to take all off). But should Mr. McKenzie succeed in prevailing on Mr. McTavish to come with him to this place it is understood that he come to no arrangement whatever further than holding out such inducement as is necessary to bring him down. It is also understood that when Mr. McKenzie shall have seen Messrs Stuart and Clarke or either of them that they decide on the propriety of coming here or of remaining in the interior to go across the country. It is also understood that in all cases Mr. McKenzie is at liberty to act at his discretion in forming any arrangements with the said Mr. McTavish or the person acting for the North West Company. It is further concluded and agreed that Mr. D. McDougall remain as usual in charge of this establishment & for the facility of the transaction of business it is also agreed that in case W. P. Hunt should not be able to return it is left solely with Mr. McDougall to finally conclude any arrangements we may be able to make with whoever may come forward on the part of the N. W. Co.

We having good reasons to hope that the Brig Lydia Captn. Bennet will come into the river for sale together with some cargo and W. P. Hunt having written a letter to said Bennet dated July 21st last to encourage his coming we hereby agree that Mr. McDougall may purchase said Brig & any part of her cargo which he may deem necessary for us or to our advantage provided the Brig can be had for about the sum of Three thousand Dollars and shall appear worth it on examination. That the goods or cargo shall not amount to more than the sum of about ten thousand Dollars at a valuation not exceeding forty per cent on the Boston

Invoice payable in Canton at the conclusion of peace or when it shall be safe for us to send our skins to market. In the event of purchasing said vessell the goods may be landed, & if necessary for the satisfaction of Capt. Bennet skins may be put on board to the amount of the goods while she proceeds to California & the Sandwich Islands with some articles of trade for provisions in search of Mr. Hunt but could she not be dispatched from here by the first of December Mr. McDougall will then judge whether to send her for provisions or not.

And it is also concluded and agreed that each of us in our respective departments act according to the best of our judgment for the interest of the concern in all things & that we cannot have it too fully impressed on our minds that nothing be left undone in our power which may facilitate our departure from this place by the first of May next at farthest.

WILSON P. HUNT
DUN: McDOUGALL
DONALD MACKENZIE.

APPENDIX E—

Extract from a letter addressed Mr. Jno. G. McTavish, Columbia River From A. Shaw Agent for the North West Company, Dated Montreal 9th May, 1813.

My Dear Sir.

We are in hurry & Confusion preparing papers &c. for the Express Canoe: having waited impatiently for some time, it was at last determined upon to send it off without having received the least knowledge of what has been doing in England since December last but fortunately the arrival of a Frigate brought us Accounts of the Isaac Todd having on board Messrs McTavish & McDonald being ready for Sea on the 18th of March. She is accompanied by a Frigate, to take and destroy every thing that is American on the N. W. Coast.

Copied Astoria Columbia River
October 9th, 1813

ALFRED SETON.
JOHN C. HALSEY
GAB: FRANCHERE
WILLIAM WALLACE.
DUN: McDOUGALL
DONALD MACKENZIE
JOHN CLARKE.

APPENDIX F—

PACIFIC FUR COMPANY

Missouri Gazette, May 8, 1813.

Arrived here a few days ago from the mouth of the Columbia river, Mr. Robert Stuart, one of the partners of the Pacific Fur Company, accompanied by Messrs. R. Crooks, Jos. Miller, and Rob. M'Clellan, with three hunters. We learn that Mr. Stuart is bound to N. York with despatches. Next week we shall present our readers with an account of their journey from the Pacific Ocean to this place, a short narrative, which

will evince to the world that a journey to the Western Sea will not be considered (within a few years) of much greater importance than a trip to New York.

Missouri Gazette, May 15, 1813.

We last week promised our readers an account of the journey of the gentlemen attached to the New York Fur Company from the Pacific Ocean to this place: we now lay it before our readers as collected from the gentlemen themselves.

On the 29th June, 1812, Mr. Robert Stuart, one of the partners of the Pacific Fur Company with two Frenchmen, Mess. Ramsey Crooks and Robert McClellan, left the Pacific ocean with despatches for New York.

After ascending the Columbia river 90 miles John Day, one of the hunters became perfectly insane and was sent back to the main establishment, under the charge of some Indians; the remaining six pursued their voyage upwards of 900 miles, when they happily met with Mr. Joseph Miller on his way to the mouth of the Columbia; he had been considerably to the south and east among the nations called Blackarms and Arapahays, by the latter of whom he was robbed; in consequence of which he suffered almost every privation human nature is capable of, and was in a state of starvation and almost nudity when the party met him.

They now had fifteen horses & pursued their journey for the Atlantic world, without any uncommon accident, until within about 200 miles of the Rocky mountains, where they unfortunately met with a party of the Crow Indians, who behaved with the most unbounded insolence, and were solely prevented from cutting off the party by observing them well armed and constantly on their guard. They, however, pursued on their track six days and finally stole every horse belonging to the party.

Some idea of the situation of those men may be conceived, when we take into consideration that they were now on foot and had a journey of 2000 miles before them, 1500 of which entirely unknown, as they intended and prosecuted it considerably south of Messrs. Lewis & Clark's route; the impossibility of carrying any quantity of provisions on their backs, in addition to their ammunition and bedding will occur at first blush the danger to be apprehended from starvation was eminent.

They however put the best face upon their prospects & pursued their route towards the Rocky Mountains at the head waters of the Colorado or Spanish river, and stood their course E. S. E. until they struck the head waters of the great river Platte, which they undeviatingly followed to its mouth; it may here be observed, that this river for about 300 miles is navigable for a barge; from thence to the Otto village, within 45 miles of its entrance into the Missouri, it is a mere bed of sand, without water sufficient to float a skin canoe.

From the Otto village to St. Louis the party performed their voyage in a canoe furnished them by the natives and arrived here in perfect health on the 30th of last month. Our travellers did not hear of the war with England until they came to the Ottoes; these people told them that the Shawanoe Prophet had sent them a wampum, inviting them to join in the war against the Americans, that they answered the messenger, that they could make more by trapping Beaver, than making war against the Americans.

After crossing the hills (Rocky mountains) they happily fell in with a small party of Snake indians, from whom they purchased a horse who relieved them from any further carriage of food, as this faithful four footed companion, performed that service to the Otto village. They wintered on the river Platte about 600 miles from its mouth.

By information received from these gentlemen, it appears that a journey across the continent of N. America, might be performed with a waggon, there being no obstruction in the whole route that any person would dare to call a mountain in addition to its being much the most direct and short route one to go from this place to the mouth of the Columbia river. Any future party who may undertake that journey, and are tolerably acquainted with the different places, where it would be necessary to lay up a small stock of provisions would not be impeded, as in all probability they would not meet with an indian to interrupt their progress; altho on the other route more north there are almost insurmountable barriers.

Messrs. Hunt, Crooks, Miller, McClellan, M'Kenzie and about 60 men who left St. Louis in the beginnings of March 1811 for the Pacific ocean, reached the Aricoras village on the 13th day of June, where meeting with some American hunters who had been there the preceding year on the waters of the Columbia with Mr. Henry, and who giving such an account of the route by which they passed as being far preferable in point of procuring with facility an abundant supply of food at all times as well as avoiding even the probability of seeing their enemies the Blackfeet, than by the track of capts. Lewis and Clark, the gentlemen of the expedition at once abandoned their former ideas of passing by the falls of the Missouri and made the necessary arrangements for commencing their journey overland from this place.

Eighty horses were purchased and equipped by the 17 of July, and on the day following they departed from the Aricoras sixty persons in number, all on foot excepting the partners of the company. In this situation they proceeded for five days, having crossed in that time two considerable streams which joined the Missouri below the Aricaras when finding an inland tribe of indians calling themselves Shawnays, but known among the whites by the appellations of Cheyen-nes, we procured from these people an accession of forty horses, which enabled the gentlemen to furnish a horse for every two men. Steering about well south west, they passed the small branches of Big river, the little Missouri above its forks, and several of the tributary streams of Powder river, one of which followed up they found a band of the Absaroka or Crow nation, encamped on its banks, at the foot of the Big Horn mountain.

For ammunition and some small articles they exchanged all their lame for sound horses, with these savages; but although that this band has been allowed by every one who know them to be by far the best behaved of their tribe, it was only by that unalterable determination of the gentlemen to avoid jeopardizing the safety of the party, without at the same moment submitting to intentional insults, that they left this camp (not possessing a greater force than the whites) without coming to blows.

The distance from the Aricaras to this mountain, is about 450 miles over an extremely rugged tract, by no means furnishing a sufficient supply

of water, but during the twenty eight days they were getting to the base of the mountain, they were only in a very few instances without abundance of Buffaloe meat.

Three days took them over to the plains of Mad river (the name given the Big Horn above this mountain) which following for a number of days they left it where it was reduced to thirty yards in width and the same evening reached the banks of the Colorado or Spanish river. Finding flocks of Buffaloe at the end of the third days travel on this stream, the party passed a week in drying Buffaloe meat for the residue of the voyage, as in all probability those were the last animals of the kind they would meet with. From this camp in one day they crossed the dividing mountain and pitched their tents on Hoback's Fork of Mad river, where it was near 150 feet broad, and in eight days more having passed several stupendous ridges, they encamped in the vicinity of the establishment made by Mr. Henry in the fall of 1810, on a fork about 70 yards wide, bearing the name of that gentleman; having travelled from the main Missouri about 900 miles in fifty four days.

Here abandoning their horses the party constructed canoes and descended the Snake or Ky-eye-nem river (made by the junction of Mad River, south of Henry's Fork) 400 miles in the course of which they were obliged by the intervention of impassable rapids to make a number of portages till at length they found the river confined between gloomy precipices at least 200 feet perpendicular, whose basis for the most part were washed by the turbulent stream, which for 30 miles was a continual succession of hills, cascades and rapids. Mr. Crooks' canoe had split and upset in the middle of a rapid, immediately above by which one man was drowned, named Antonio Clappin (or Chappin?), and that gentleman saved himself only by extreme exertion in swimming. From repeated losses by the upsetting of canoes our stock of provisions were now reduced to a bare sufficiency for five days totally ignorant of the country where they were, and unsuccessful in meeting any of the natives, from whom they could hope to procure information.

Unable to proceed by water, Messrs. McKenzie, M'Clellan and Reed, set out in different directions, inclining down the river for the purpose of finding Indians and buying horses. Mr. Crooks with a few men returned to Henry's Fork, for those they had left, while Mr. Hunt remained with the main body of the men in trapping beaver for their support. Mr. C. finding the distance much greater by land than they had contemplated, returned at the end of three days, where waiting five more, expecting relief from below, the near approach of winter, made them determine on depositing all superfluous articles and proceeding on foot. Accordingly on the 10th of November, Messrs. Hunt and Crooks set out each with 18 men, one party on the north and the other on the south side of the river.

Mr. Hunt was fortunate in finding Indians with abundance of Salmon and some horses but Mr. Crooks saw but few and in general too miserably poor to afford his party much assistance; thirteen days travel brought the later to a high range of mountains through which the river forced a passage, and the bank being their only guide, they still by climbing over points of rocky ridges projecting into the stream, kept as near it as possible till in the evening of the 3rd December impassable precipices of

immense height put an end to all hopes of following the margin of this watercourse, which here was not more than 40 yards. wide, ran with incredible velocity and was withal so foamingly tumultous that even had the opposite bank been fit for their p[illegible]se, an attempt at rafting would have been perfect madness, as they could only have the inducement of ending in a watery grave a series of hardships and privations, by which the most hardy and determined of the human race must have found himself inadequate. They attempted to climb the mountains, still bent on pushing on, but after ascending for half a day, they discovered to their sorrow that they were not half way to the summit, and the snow already too deep for men in their emaciated state to proceed farther.

Regaining the river bank, they returned up and on the third day met with Mr. Hunt and party with one horse proceeding downwards, a canoe was soon made of a horse hide and in it transported what meat they could spare to Mr. Crook's starving followers, who for the first 18 days after leaving the place of deposit had subsisted on half a meal in twenty-four hours, and in the last nine days had eat only one beaver, a dog, a few wild cherries and old mockasin soles. Having travelled during these twenty seven days at least 550 miles. For the next four days, both parties continued on up the river without any other support than what little rosebuds and cherries they could find, but here they luckily fell in with some Snake Indians, from whom they got five horses, giving them three guns and some other articles for the same. Starvation had bereft J. B. Provost of his senses entirely and on seeing the horse flesh on the opposite shore, was so agitated in crossing in a skin canoe that he upset and was unfortunately drowned. From hence Mr. Hunt went on to a camp of Shoshonies about 90 miles above, where procuring a few [illegible]s and a guide he set out for the main Columbia across the mountains to the southwest, leaving the river where it entered the range, & on it Mr. Crooks and five men unable to travel.

Mr. H. lost a Canadian named Carriere by starvation, before he met the Shy-ey to-ga Indians in the Columbia plains; from whom getting a supply of provisions, he soon reached the main river, which he descended in canoes and arrived without any further loss at Astoria, in the month of February.

Messrs. M'Kenzie, M'Clellan and Reed had united their parties on the Snake river Mountains, through which they travelled twenty one days to the Mulpot river, subsisting on an allowance by no means adequate to the toils they underwent daily & to the smallness of their number (which was in all eleven) they attribute their success in getting with life to where they found some wild horses. They soon after reached the fork called by captains Lewis and Clark Kooskooske, went down Lewis's party and the Columbia wholly by water, without any misfortune, except the upsetting in a rapid of Mr. M'Clellan's canoe, and although it happened on the first day of the year, yet by great exertion they clung to the canoe till the others came to their assistance, making their escape with the loss of some rifles, they reached Astoria early in January.

Three of the five men who remained with Mr. Crooks, afraid of perishing by want, left him in February on a small river on the road by which Mr. Hunt had passed in quest of Indians, and have not since been

heard of. Mr. C. had followed Mr. H't track in the snow for seven days but coming to a low prairie, he lost every appearance of the trace and was compelled to pass the remaining part of winter in the mountains, subsisting some times on beaver and horse meat, and their skins and at others on their success in finding roots. Finally on the last of March, the other only Canadian being unable to proceed was left with a lodge of Shoshonies, and Mr. C. with John Day finding the snow sufficiently diminished, undertook from Indian information to cross the last ridge, which they happily effected, and reached the banks of the Columbia by the middle of April, wherein the beginning of May, they fell in with Messrs. Stuart, having been a few days before stripped of everything they possessed by a band of villians near the falls. On the 10th of May, they arrived safe at Astoria, the principal establishment of the Pacific Fur Company within 14 miles of cape Disappointment.

May 14, 1812.

WILSON P. HUNT
DONALD MacKENZIE
DUN: McDOUGALL
DAVID STUART
ROBERT STUART
JOHN CLARKE.

APPENDIX G

LETTER FROM MR. GALLATIN TO MR. ASTOR DATED

New York, August 5, 1835.

Dear Sir,—In compliance with your request, I will state such facts as I recollect touching the subjects mentioned in your letter of 28th ult. I may be mistaken respecting dates and details, and will only relate general facts, which I well remember.

In conformity with the treaty of 1794 with Great Britain, the citizens and subjects of each country were permitted to trade with the Indians residing in the territories of the other party. The reciprocity was altogether nominal. Since the conquest of Canada, the British had inherited from the French the whole fur trade, through the great lakes and their communications, with all the western Indians, whether residing in the British dominions or the United States. They kept the important western posts on those lakes till about the year 1797. And the defensive Indian war, which the United States had to sustain from 1776 to 1795, had still more alienated the Indians, and secured to the British their exclusive trade, carried through the lakes, wherever the Indians in that quarter lived. No American could, without danger of property and life, carry on that trade, even within the United States, by the way of either Michilimackinac or St. Mary's. And independent of the loss of commerce, Great Britain was enable to preserve a most dangerous influence over our Indian..

It was under these circumstances that you communicated to our government the prospect you had to be able, and your intention, to purchase one half of the interest of the Canadian Fur Company, engaged in trade by the way of Michilimackinac with our own Indians.

You wished to know whether the plan met with the approbation of government, and how far you could rely on its protection and encouragement. This overture was received with great satisfaction by the administration and Mr. Jefferson, then President, wrote you to that effect. I was also directed, as Secretary of the Treasury, to write to you an official letter to the same purpose. On investigating the subject, it was found that the Executive had no authority to give you any direct aid; and I believe you received nothing more than an entire approbation of your plan, and general assurances of the protection due to every citizen engaged in lawful and useful pursuits.

You did effect the contemplated purchase, but in what year I do not recollect. Immediately before the war, you represented that a large quantity of merchandise, intended for the Indian trade, and including arms and munitions of war, belonging to that concern of which you owned one half, was deposited at a post on Lake Huron, within the British dominions; that, in order to prevent their ultimately falling into the hands of Indians who might prove hostile, you were desirous to try to have them conveyed into the United States; but that you were prevented by the then existing law of non-intercourse with the British dominions.

The Executive could not annul the provisions of that law. But I was directed to instruct the collectors on the lakes, in case you and your agents should voluntarily bring in and deliver to them any part of the goods above mentioned, to receive and keep them in their guard, and not to commence prosecutions until further instructions; the intention being then to apply to Congress for an act remitting the forfeiture and penalties. I wrote accordingly, to that effect, to the collectors of Detroit and Michilimackinac.

The attempt to obtain the goods did not, however, succeed; and I cannot say how far the failure injured you. But the war proved fatal to another much more extensive and important enterprise.

Previous to that time, but I also forgot the year, you had undertaken to carry on a trade on your own account, though I believe under the New York charter of the American Fur Company, with Indians west of the Rocky Mountains. This project was also communicated to government, and met, of course, with its full approbation, and best wishes, for your success. You carried it on, on the most extensive scale, sending several ships to the mouth of the Columbia River, and a large party by land across the mountains, and finally founding the establishment of Astoria.

This unfortunately fell into the hands of the enemy during the war, from circumstances with which I am but imperfectly acquainted—being then absent on a foreign mission. I returned in September, 1815, and sailed again on a mission to France in June, 1816. During that period I visited Washington twice—in October or November, 1815, and in March 1816. On one of these occasions, and I believe on the last, you mentioned to me that you were disposed once more to renew the attempt, and to re-establish Astoria, provided you had the protection of the American flag; for which purpose, a lieutenant's command would be sufficient to you. You requested me to mention this to the President, which I did. Mr. Madison said he would consider the subject, and although he did not

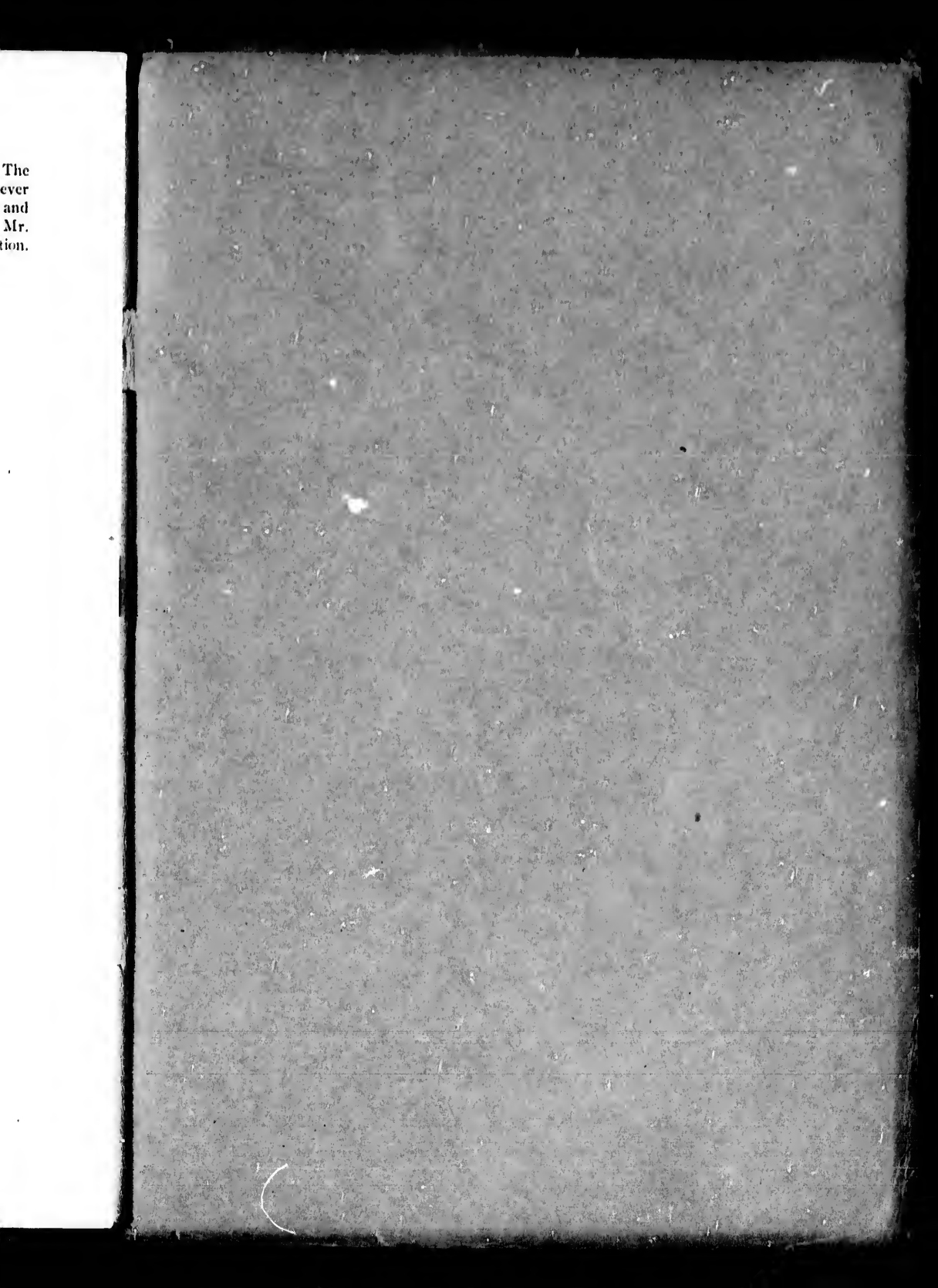
commit himself, I thought that he received the proposal favorably. The message was verbal, and I do not know whether the application was ever renewed in a more formal manner. I sailed soon after for Europe, and was seven years absent. I never had the pleasure, since 1816, to see Mr. Madison, and never heard again anything concerning the subject in question.

I remain, dear sir, most respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

ALBERT GALLATIN.

John Jacob Astor, Esq.,
New York.



GREAT
NORTHERN